

The Independent Hindustan

*A Monthly Review of
Political, Economic,
Social and Intellectual
Independence of India*

Vol. I

DECEMBER, 1920

No. 4

*They are Hanging
Men and Women!*

Secession or Federation?

Revolt of Students

The Pulse of the Press

Notes and News

5 WOOD STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, U. S. A.

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THE INDEPENDENT HINDUSTAN

A MONTHLY REVIEW

of Political, Economic, Social and Intellectual Independence of India.

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VOL. I

SAN FRANCISCO, DECEMBER, 1920

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:: Editorials ::

Revolt of the Students

ONE of the most important planks in the Non-Cooperation program promulgated by the people of India is the boycott of the British Universities, Schools and Colleges, and the establishment of National Universities exclusively under national control. In conformity to the decision and desires of the people, the students of the great Aligarh College have revolted and demanded that the College must sever all connection with the British government and refuse any financial aid. As the British government threatened the Trustees of the College, Mr. Mohammed Ali, an Alumnus and leader of the people, urged the students to take possession of several buildings. The revolutionary students, after taking control of buildings, formed a nucleus of a new National University.

The actual fight, however, ensued between the students and the British officials. When the students were forcibly evicted, they occupied several buildings and tents where the National University functions its machinery.

Being inspired by the success of the Aligarh revolution, the students all over India are forming brotherhoods, and demanding the school authorities to break every connection with the British government. The student revolt is spreading far and wide in India.

The significance of this revolt lies in the fact that these students will swell the rank of the revolutionaries, and carry on the program of the bloodless revolution plan. The youthful enthusiasm, vigorous optimism, spirit of sacrifice, and vivid vision are needed to-day to steer the Indian National Solidarity. The students of Aligarh are to be congratulated for the logical lead they have taken, not only to destroy the obsolete, old and non-progressive system of British education, but also to build up National Institutions which will feed the youths of India with sound, national and healthy knowledge. It is to be hoped that the students will go among the masses and offer their services to educate and enlighten them and to ameliorate their conditions.

The National Council of Education

Fifteen years ago, as a result of the British *doles et spousa* policy, the students revolted and

forced their parents to establish national educational systems.

On the 16th of November, 1905, several leading citizens met in a conference at Calcutta to consider the question of National Education. Over 15,000 students marched in a body to assist the decision of the conference. It was declared that a National Council of Education should be at once established to organize a system of Education—Literary, Scientific and Technical—on National lines and under National control.

The students triumphantly went to put a sign—TO LET—on the premises of the Presidency College, the chief governmental institution in Calcutta. The Government University was termed as *Golden Khod*—manufactories of slaves.

Through the lead and action of the students, on the 1st of June, 1906, the National Council of Education was finally registered. The objects of which were:

To impart and promote the imparting of Education—Literary and Scientific, as well as Technical and Professional—on National lines and exclusively under National control, attaching special importance to a knowledge of the country, its Literature, History and Philosophy, and designed to incorporate with the best Oriental ideals of life and thought, the best assimilable ideals of the West and to inspire students with a genuine love for and a real desire to serve the country.

The National Educational movement has done inestimable service to the growth and development of national spirit in India. The students of National Colleges and Schools have taken very important part in all political activities. With their fearlessness, intelligence, character and power of organization, they have guided the revolutionary movement. And the present day revolt of the students beacons the day of the realization of their cherished ideals. The British rule in India is coming to an end, and India, with her genuine cosmopolitan ideals, will occupy a prominent place among the family of nations. And when that day comes, the National Educational movement will share gloriously as one of the achievements of the Revolutionary movement.

India and Russo-Turkish Entente

It is reported by the Associated Press that an agreement has been reached by the Russian Bolsheviks and Turkish Nationalists to liberate India from the British rule.

India undoubtedly will welcome such an agreement. It will inspire and encourage the people of India. Though they are fully prepared to attain independence, relying on their own resources, yet, the outside help will bring the result quicker. We want the people of India to study the forces of the world, remembering that they will render a signal service to the cause of humanity and freedom, if they succeed in destroying British imperial system.

Aid to Armenia

The tragedy of Armenia is bound up with the tragedy of India, Ireland, Persia, and other countries. Armenia would have been free long ago, had she not been battered by the plottings of the imperialists. It is England which has conspired with Czarist Russia and Imperial Turkey to keep Armenia in the present state so that she can be compelled to guard a gate to India.

After elimination of Czar from the arena of world-politics, the Near East recognises that the British imperialism stands in the way of solution of Near Eastern problems. Through mediation of the present Russian government, independence of Armenia was assured, and the Armenians were ready to shake hands with the Turks. But as England despises peace, she contrived to upset the plan. She saw the red flag flying over her empire, and at once, Robert Cecil through the British-made League of Nations pleads for the case of Armenians.

Robert Cecil's move is very clever. The republics of Azerbaijan, Georgian, Persia, Mesopotamia, Turkey and other countries are hostile to the British. The only way England sees to maintain her imperial interests is to keep Armenia as a base of operation against the revolutionaries of India and other Near Eastern countries. And as she is bankrupt, Cecil asks Armenia to pay a bill of \$20,000,000 so that England could free Armenia from the red peril.

We strongly advocate that Armenia should be free from all entanglements and establish her national independence. But as long as British imperialism remains intact, the success is very remote. Taking advantage of nominal freedom of Armenia, the cunning statesmanship will set the Armenians against the Persians, Mesopotamians and New Turkey, thereby inciting displeasure of the people of those countries. The very thing the British are doing by using nearly 125,000 Indian troops to suppress the risings of the Near Eastern countries. It will be well for Armenia and peace of the world, that Armenians should cooperate with all those who are directing their forces against British imperialism, without invoking any aid from the people, Cecil represents.

Home Rule or Independence?

India has passed the stage of Home Rule agitation. Yet, if there such a callous mind exists as not to conceive the reasons why India should not remain within the British empire, we ask them to acquaint themselves with the view of an English Missionary, Rev. C. F. Andrews. He was asked, would not the idea of Home Rule or self-government within the Empire be sufficient for India?

He emphatically said "No." "For the simple reason," he continued, "that it always breaks down in practice. It is a camouflage and nothing else. There is not a single self-governing dominion (such as South Africa, Canada, Australia, etc.) within the British empire which does not reproduce in every action it takes the idea of equal partnership of Indians with themselves within one empire,—however much they may pass mere resolutions of reciprocity at Imperial Conferences. Look at South Africa from where I have just returned. The government of South Africa is now doing its best to induce not only indented Indians, but even South African born Indians to leave the country. There is an almost universal anti-Indian agitation, whose one object is to drive every Indian out of South Africa. Is there the very slightest idea of a common brotherhood within the empire, when this is the treatment of the Indians? Or take again East Africa,—hardly a single Englishman there is willing to admit that Indians can be politically and socially equal. The very idea is to them unthinkable. I tell you plainly and bluntly as far as my experience goes there is no part of Africa where Indians are less welcome than within the British Empire. I have seen with my own eyes the difference of treatment in Portuguese Africa and in British East Africa. I have lived in both places. In Portuguese East Africa, Indians are treated as gentlemen. In British East Africa, they are subjected every day to petty daily insult. They are made to feel their own inferiority of position every moment of their lives."

Mr. A. B. Keith, in his book "Imperial Unity and the Dominions" (p. 278) corroborates the statement of Mr. Andrews. He says:

"... it is true that in practice the self-governing dominions of the Union of South Africa treat British Indians worse than any foreign possession, and that they were less harassed in German possessions in Africa than in Natal, to the propriety of which they have contributed so greatly."

In view of these conditions and for many other reasons, Mr. Andrews advocates complete independence for India. He says: "Most decidedly. I can imagine no other position which will give self-respect. I am a Christian and the golden rule which Christ himself gave was this, 'Whosoever ye would wish that men should do unto you, even so do unto them.' Now let us take that rule. I am an Englishman. I value above anything else my English freedom and in-

dependence. I apply that rule of Christ to India. What does it imply? Does it not mean simply that I ought to wish for Indians the very same freedom and independence which I value so highly myself?"

In this connection, we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the article in this issue—"Secession or Federation?" The British Parliament may debate, and the Royal Colonial Institute may map out plans, Indians have definitely decided to continue their program to attain complete independence.

A British Policy

Nearly 125,000 Indian Soldiers are being forcibly conscripted and taken by the British government to subjugate Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and other Near Eastern countries. The sole motive which inspired the British imperialists to use Indian Troops is to create the bitter feeling among the Persians, Arabs and Egyptians and other people with whom the people of India are on happy and cordial terms.

The British government recognises that India is preparing to perfect the plan of final overthrow of the British rule. When that day comes, England hopes to utilize the man-power of the Near East to suppress the Indians. Commenting on this, the *Alah*, published in Lahore, Punjab, October 17, 1920, says:

The British government knows that it is not child's play to keep 315 million people under subjugation indefinitely. India is awakened. At the outbreak of the revolution, as the Indian soldiers will refuse to die upon their own brethren, the British government hopes to recruit troops from the conquered territories of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia and other Near Eastern countries. In the meanwhile, it has doled out a reform scheme to have the Indians fight over the crumbs. Eight years hence the British government will strengthen her imperial position. Now is therefore the opportune moment for us to strike a final blow.

The world should pause for a moment and reflect about the hideousness of Militarism in the twentieth century by the same government which tried to suppress American revolution. The *Alah* has sounded timely warning, which, we hope, will be heeded by the Indians as well as the people of Near Eastern countries.

The British Proscribe the Books

The dispatches from India state that the British government, in a frightened, frenzied frame of mind, has proscribed the booklets

British Terror in India, by Sarendra Kera, published by the Hindustan Gadar Party, and *The Labor Revolt in India*, by Basanta Kumar Roy, published by the Friends of Freedom for India, New York, and other pamphlets.

The materials used in both these books have been taken from the British official documents. The facts and figures have been presented in a manner that may enable the reader to discern the truth. In the foreword of *British Terror in India*, the author says thus:

"This illustrated booklet is a record of red months India passed through in 1919. It describes plainly and frankly the naked truth of the British character in executing unscrupulous criminalities."

"Materials used in preparation of this brochure are taken from authentic, original sources, such as reports, official publications, etc. Reports of the Indian National Congress, which investigated the British atrocities in perfectly cool and sane manner, have freely been used."

The author of *British Terror in India* has been explicit in exposing British imperialism, and has truly said that "Dyer is not an isolated character in British imperialism." That "history bristles with glowing examples of massacres, inhuman activities, ruthless repression, oppression and persecution wherever the British has gone" can never be disputed and the author has tried to prove his thesis, taking Amritsar Massacre and the Punjab atrocities as instances.

The labor consciousness which is urging the vast majority of the toiling masses to establish their rights in society is also awakening the peasants and proletarians in India. *The Labor Revolt in India* is full of information and the author, endowed as he is with journalistic ability, has compared the conditions of labor in India with those of other countries in a manner which leaves no doubt in the minds of the thinking persons that the question of labor is one. The author rightly concludes:

"Neglected in education, malnourished in officers, ruinously exploited in the factories and on the farms, fearlessly slaughtered on the fields of France, Flanders and Palestine, the patient workmen of India has at last risen in revolt against the English exploiters, and is perfecting plans to deal a deadly blow to the British rule in India, for he realises that until the country is completely free from the yoke of the foreigner, he can never expect to be truly free."

The books may be banned and news may be censored, but the ideas will find way through a great many avenues to blast the very foundation of the British rule based on fraud, forgery and hypocrisy.



They Are Hanging Men and Women!

Sentenced . . . to be hanged
by the neck till you are dead'

The prisoner in the dock, a young Hindu of twenty-three, gazed idly out over the courtroom as the English judge-commisars entered these words. Already the mind of the youth was far away. He was thinking of those glorious days and nights three years before when he first was moved by the thought that his country might be free—when he dreamed the dreams that Englishmen such as those who now sentenced him had dreamed at times gone by. Then there flashed into his mind a picture of that black day two months before when the secret service men had come to his rooms in Calcutta and taken him away. He saw over again the swift, unrelenting progress of his case until the hour when he stood before the three English commisars, the oldest of whom had just uttered sentences of degrading death upon him.

He looked down to the courtroom. Upon the faces of the Hindu clerks he saw a vain pity. Upon the faces of the Europeans he read only the stony-heartedness assumed always by those who must do these fellows to death by law. He wondered at it all, hardly realising what it meant, for knowing he had to die he was already remote from these men. Then suddenly he realised the judge was asking him if he had anything to say.

He turned away from the judges and looked out upon the courtroom. Something in his large dark eyes, some passionate emotion that suddenly flashed in his face held the crowd. He was hardly more than a boy, but in that moment something came to him that made him glad. And in a swift clear voice he called—"Bande Mataram!" Then he looked at the people there long and deeply. Men remembered that look afterwards when Gardit Singh was only a name and a memory.

A veiled lady near the door kept her head. The Lahore reporter jotted down the phrase and then drew a pencil through it. "He looked like a beautiful boy challenging the blind world with a phrase."

What was the hangman to do with youth—golden youth, the joy of the world? Why does he so often take youth for his prey? Gardit Singh did not ask this question as he stood upon the trap and gazed out upon the vast silent crowd of Hindus come to witness his death, to be impressed and used by it, to be brought to submission by the grim sight. Perfect silence. One could not hear the moving of a foot in all that vast crowd. Did they think? Some did. And others, boys almost, felt with the intensity of a boy's nature, only felt, the oversomeness of pre-arranged death.

Suddenly the ceremony came to a point. The executioner fitted the black cap over the head of Gardit Singh. He now opened his lips and from them, clear and strong, so that the farthest ear could hear, came the cry, "Bande Mataram!" (Hail Motherland!)

There was a crash. The slender body swung and contorted in the air, grotesquely twisting higher and yon, the last desperate protest of the life force against strangulation. A great groan went up from the crowd. The more sensitive turned away their eyes. Some ran as if a yakshee were after them, ran from that dreadful sight of broken youth. Others endured until they could see Gardit Singh calmly and idly swinging—no longer alive—only a pendulum of dead flesh now, a boy with a broken neck at the end of a rope. That beam was sudden now, the light quenched in it, the mysterious ray withdrawn. The poor body was broken and ruined, because a light in his brain annoyed men who were sensitive to light.

That night Sir Ashton Pasha, the senior of the three judges, was somewhat more silent than usual. His little girl, sun-checked even after five years in India, climbed on his lap and playfully pulled his beard. "What is the matter with you, Papa?" she whispered, her arms around his neck. "Why don't you play with me?"

He put her gently down. "Just let me off this time," he begged, kissing her. At that moment, happily, she saw the cat and ran after it.

Sir Ashton gazed into the fire. He still saw the Hindu youth standing before him, listening to the grave words of death. It had been hard to condemn him, but the Empire stood before one's private feelings.

"I have helped serve the Empire," he said in answer to Gardit Singh's questioning look.

"What's that about the Empire, Papa?" asked little Ekkel suddenly.

"Nothing, dear, nothing! I was just thinking aloud," said her father, as he took the candle and went to bed.

Gardit Singh was in his bed too. In the murderer's graveyard he lay in a bed of burning quinine. The judge lay between white sheets and slept, but Gardit Singh's broken body lay in its flaming bed. Slowly the powerful chemical crawled into brain and bone now utterly destroyed—he was useless to the Empire and it had killed him. Ah, pity, pity that the golden boys must die so that the Empire be saved.

The sun rose on the morning after that death, but Gardit Singh who had come so mysteriously

Secession or Federation?

IN view of the fact that the revolutionary activities are rampant in various parts of the British Empire, the British statesmen are busy in building up a structure upon which the loosely connected parts may be held firmly and permanently.

Time is progressing so rapidly that no one today, be he an English Liberal or Reactionary Imperialist will deny that reforms are necessary in India, Egypt, Persia and Ireland. The people of these countries, of course, are not interested in different proposals for reforms. These oppressed peoples are determined to reorganize their countries and constitutions on an entirely new basis. The British Statesmen are, however, very anxious to advance schemes to cement different parts of the empire into closer relationship in order to safeguard empire against disintegration.

They advocate a Dominion-responsible form of government, home-rule all-around, introduction of progressive reform measures. Home-rule all-around is the latest phase of the imperial plan which tends to culminate in a Federation of the British Empire.

These patched-up plans may help Britain to retain her present position and prestige, but India or other Colonies will see that complete and absolute independence will give them an opportunity of extending their cooperation to other countries without being hindered and hampered by anyone.

Already the movement is going on in all parts of the British Empire, which indicates the attitude of the people towards undated freedom.

The recent dispatch by Reuter News Agency from Capetown states that at the Free State Nationalist Congress held on October 22nd, 1920, General Hertzog moved the following resolutions, which were adopted as a supplement to the principles of the Nationalist Party:

That this Congress, in view of the fundamental principle of the Nationalist Party namely, South Africa, first decided to accept the following principles:

1. The Nationalists acknowledge and will safeguard the Sovereign will of the people of the Union.
2. The Nationalists acknowledge the right of the people of the Union to self-determination.
3. The Nationalists acknowledge the right of the people of the Union to decide upon Great Britain and break any existing bond between the Union and Great Britain.
4. The Nationalists declare against and will oppose any attempt at a closer Imperial Union.

That the Union of South Africa is planning to set up an independent republic needs perhaps no explanation.

The same movement is evident in Canada. "A private canvass of opinions," says the *Canadian*

Nation, published at Ottawa, "reveals the fact that many who, a few years ago, were known as staunch imperialists now admit they held in the ultimate independence of Canada." The Canadian political thought is directed towards the necessity for a complete change in the government. "This is to be seen," says the *Canadian Nation*, "in the demand which was made during the war for Canadian control of the Canadian Army in France, it was seen again when the Canadian delegation at the Peace Conference insisted upon the inclusion of Canada as a member of the League of Nations; it is to be seen in the practical unanimity with which Canadians now meet upon a Canadian Navy owned and controlled by the government of Canada; and it is advanced further by the arrangement for separate Canadian representation at Washington. There are only a few instances, but they all tend in the same direction, and, on the other hand, there are no cases which show a tendency upon the part of any considerable section of the Canadian people to meet upon any curtailment of the status of a Canadian among the Nations of the world."

The movement in Ireland is definite and determined. The Irish Republic is a settled fact in spite of the immense military forces which are used against the rising nation. The vast majority of the Irish people have duly expressed and cast their votes for independence. And today the machinery of the Government of Independent Ireland functions just like any other independent nation.

In India the revolutionary movements have brought about the pronounced evolutionary growth of the political principles promulgated by the people at large.

The so-called progressive steps of reforms which the English government is anxious to dole out to the Moderates and Liberals in order to pacify the growing unrest cannot divert the attention of the people from their determination to set up an independent government with a new political and economic program. They are busily engaged in perfecting their own program and in formulating their own policies.

Recently India Home-rule League, the object of which was to secure responsible self-government within the British Empire has been changed to *Swarajya Sabha*. *Swarajya Sabha* aims to attain full and complete *Swarajya*. The word *Swarajya* in plain language means self-rule which recognizes no other sovereignty. Full and complete self-rule is nothing but complete independence. And in fact there can be no *Swarajya*—(Self-rule) without having *Swatantrata*—(Secession). The Hindus, therefore, being inspired by the political motto, have used the word *Swarajya* in a very subtle way and no interpretation

can bring the real meaning with ambiguity.

India's position is thus clear. As India occupies a very important position in the Empire—politically, economically, and strategically its accession will have a great bearing upon the re-organization of the empire.

A great many statesmen see the day when the English will have to remain contented with the little island they now occupy. In order to avert that stage, they have been hatching various plans.

They recognize that India cannot indefinitely be kept within the empire under the Crown. Under the circumstances if India is forced to remain within the empire, what position would she occupy?

If Canada, Australia, or Union of South Africa desire to have equal voice in shaping the imperial policy, India cannot be denied that privilege. Otherwise it would mean the increase of masters for India. Instead of England's rule, it will be the rule of the Combination of Colonies. I do not believe India's intelligence has been so much prostituted or spent so much degenerated that Indian people will allow such condition to happen. That the Indian statesmen are quite alive to the situation will be evident from the presidential address, which Mr. M. A. Jinnah delivered before the All India Muslim League in 1916. He said in part thus:

"In the political reconstruction, India, the largest part of the Empire, cannot possibly be allowed to continue a dependency, as adjunct to England or to be ruled and governed by the Dominions. Hitherto the responsibility, the control and the supervision of India has been vested in Great Britain. The question naturally arises, what will be the position of India if an Imperial Parliament with full representation of the Dominions is constituted? Is India to have new and additional masters? Is India to be ruled jointly by England and the Dominions? Are we to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament and to be thus ruled and governed by the Colonies? Are we not to have a status on 'honus standi' in the Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opinion of the entire educated people of this country that India will never allow herself to be relegated to such an intolerable position.

"Indeed, she does not want a change of masters, no additional masters. If an Imperial Parliament is established, India's right should be recognized and her voice in that Imperial Parliament must be fully and properly secured and represented by her own sons in the Council of the Empire."

Mr. Jinnah voiced the sentiments of the people four years ago. Since then a great change has come over the people.

It is unmistakably indicated that such one of the parts of the empire is desirous of shaping the imperial policy, if empire has to be kept intact. The only way the voice of the people can be ex-

pressed is through some sort of Imperial Parliament superior to the present British Parliament.

Imperial Parliament presupposes Federation. The idea of Federation can be commensured by free cooperation of the parts of the Empire.

Any scheme which is made by the imperial Architects must have three elements—freedom of the States endowed with original ruling power, recognition of equality and proportional representation.

The States will retain all the powers excepting what is surrendered to the Imperial Federation. Before this idea is realized, India has to be saved from mere dependency ruled and dominated by bureaucracy to self-governing responsible dominion.

India's man and money power is greater than any other part of the empire. With her enormous natural resources, and possibilities of commercial and industrial development, India is a self-sustaining country. Three-fourths of the entire trade of India is conducted with England and one-seventh of the entire British trade is carried on with India.

In the light of these situations, the moment India is free to shape her own policy, she will look for her own interest. At least, she will demand to possess the three things—Finance, foreign relations, and military.

Economic power is the source of political life. If India is given Home-rule, she at once will exert her energies in several and growth of industries, development of mines, natural resources and promotion of commerce. In order to carry on this program, India will devise the ways and means which may be a death blow to English commerce and industry, and investment of English capital. India will never be beggared by imperial preference.

Regulation of commerce and industry can only be possible when there are foreign relations. The countries without having any foreign intercourse have become stagnant pools in the world-politics. Without having the power of free choice of making relations with foreign States, India's position will not be improved. The right of establishing foreign relationship itself presupposes Sovereignty. To endorse with sovereign rights a Home-rule country is preposterous.

Defence of the Empire will demand from India a larger share. India is already overburdened with military expenditure. She will have to bear much more to protect the interests of the Empire. If she is free her military expenses will be minimal only, as she has no designs for foreign aggression.

In so far the English character and mentality can be analysed, England will never willingly allow India to possess the original ruling power, having finance, foreign relations, and military in her control. Home-rule proposition, therefore, is beset with immense difficulties and produces problems which cause confusion and conflicts.

As England is not inclined to surrender, nor

India is ready to be satisfied with crumbs of reforms, the idea of Federation becomes impracticable and impossible. And eliminating the idea of Federation, Home-rule has no meaning. Besides, there are enormous difficulties in the path of any scheme of Imperial Federation or British Empire Alliance.

Firstly, common decency itself demands that there should be no long and its paraphernalia of slavery. It is not merely sentimental, but involves material questions as well. The growing democratic spirit will not let the throne remain as it is. The Indian people may very well demand that why not let an Indian Prince sit on the throne of the Empire. Of course, Indians do not want any King, Kaiser, or Czar.

Secondly, owing to the hostile attitude of the Colonies towards Asians particularly Indians, free intercourse between various parts and India will be obstructed.*

Thirdly, equal partnership presupposes equal and proportional representation to a Parliament superior to the present British Parliament. It is not known if the present Parliament will renounce its historic position. Then, again, even a moderate calculation is made, it will be found that India with her 315 millions will have a controlling voice in the Parliament which no Englishman will allow to happen. India a ruling factor in the Empire is an impossibility.

Fourthly, distances, economic conflicts, racial differences and various ideals engendered into the people owing to environmental conditions will be in the way of any sort of Federation.

Fifthly, Federation is itself another phase of Pan-Anglo-Saxonism to which India cannot be a partner.

What M. Victor Berard, Secretary of the Revue de Paris, said several years ago still holds good. He said:

"Imperialism has for its object the two Anglo-Saxon hemispheres, the world wide 'Pan-Britannic' empire. After the break down of Pan-Slavism, the Pan-Latinism and whilst Pan-Germanism is lumbering, Pan-Britannism looms ahead fully prepared to pilot the destinies of the United Kingdom and threatens those of the universe."

"This question is indeed a serious matter for the whole world. Fought an English or rather Anglo-Saxon Empire, Britain is the recognized

term which embraces all the Britons of the world. In other words, all English-speaking individuals and communities, from India on to Canada, Australia to Egypt, out of these scattered pieces fashion an Imperial mantle for the old Mother Country, federate republics and monarchies, self-governing states and vassal colonies, free peoples and dependent, subject multitudes, by a slender but inescapable thread, cause English will, at all hours of the day, to pass from one to the other, and English force to display its might throughout the length and breadth of the world. In short, reconstituted on an enlarged plane, with two-thirds of the white humanity, an Empire comparable to that of the Romans; such an imperialism as that is a positive menace to the entire world."

India, by nature, is opposed to such policies.

The points I have presented, though not exhaustive, plainly prove that it is neither desirable nor possible to have the connection of India with Britain. If India is compelled to associate with England, it can be only on the basis of equality and proportional representation, which means that India will rule the Empire—not England. It is an absurd proposition, at least for the present.

India as an integral part of the British Empire will be disastrous to the peaceful progress of a great many countries, directly or indirectly controlled by England: Ireland, India, Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, China, and other countries as separate entities will have better opportunities to form a real League to destroy militarism and imperialism and establish peace thus removing in a bondage of forced cooperation.

If the people of the world have come to the stage when adjustment of relationship must be made in such a way as will lead to peace and harmony, the question naturally arises why the world must suffer for perpetuation of imperialism of forty millions.

Secession and dismemberment of the British Empire should, therefore, be the best solution of the much mooted world-question.

—SURENDRA KARR

*See editorial 'Home-rule or Independence?'

Have You Forgotten to Subscribe?

The Mind International

THE problems of today cannot be solved if approached in a spirit of national rivalries and national antagonisms. There is something beyond the nation, that for which the nations exist: that something is humanity. And the problems of India, the British Empire, the new problems of reconstruction all over the world, can only be studied and solved in the light of the ideal international. The nations must think internationally; and the "League of Nations" will only be a league of explorers until it secures a new basis of human fellowship.

The idea of human fellowship has been the inspiration of Hindu culture. India, as we see her in her literature and art and religion and civilisation, thought internationally. She had room in her heart for the world, the Parsi, the Muslim, the Christian have found here a happy home. The Aryan culture, unlike the kultur of the West, a human in its vision, international in its ideals, reverent in its attitude to humanity. The deeper spirit of the age is for democratic internationalism; and the nations will find much to help them in Eastern culture and the message of the heroes of Indian history.

It was a fashion with critics, not so long ago, to echo the sentiment of the German thinker, Hegel who said "it was the necessary fate of Asiatic empires to be subjected to Europeans"! The European critics loved to see Japan give a better beating to Russia, and the great Japanese statesman said with noble pride:—"We have destroyed the hypocrisy of colour." It was fashionable, too, to speak of "oriental despotism"! Yet Islam is essentially democratic, and village self-government has worked for centuries in India. Mr. Webb, a collector in Central India, who studied with care the subject, said he discovered "in village after village a distinctly effective, if somewhat shadowy local organisation in one or other form of panchayat which was in fact, now and then, giving decisions on matters of communal concern, adjudicating civil disputes, even condemning offenders to reparation and fine"; and this "by common consent and with the very real sanction of public opinion."

Aryan polity was built on the basis of village communities, and these village communities, as Havel has shown in his "History of Aryan Rule," were "not wrung from unwilling warlords and landlords by century-long struggles and civil war," as in the West. "The powers of the Civil government," Mr. Havel adds, "were delegated to it by the people themselves" and were "limited by unwritten laws which by common consent were given a religious character." The common law of the land was "formulated by the chosen representatives of the people," and India had,

in the pre-Christian era, a representative assembly reminding one of the English Parliament. It is forgotten, too, by critics of India's demand for autonomy that the Western forms of self-government have been developed only recently.

In his book on "National Self-Government," Prof. Ramsey Muir is careful to point out that the institutions of self-government have been "adopted within a very short space of time" in the West. Not till the 19th century was the parliamentary or representative government established on the Continent, therefore has that century been called the "era of constitutional government." But in the earlier centuries of the "modern era," as Prof. Ramsey Muir admits, "despotism had everywhere reached its apogee on the continent of Europe." "Most of the political thinkers," he says, "prized their faith to absolute monarchy. Government by discussion seemed to lead to mere chaos, to be ruled by the stupidity of average men seemed mere folly." In England itself, the mechanism of representative government was not invented till the middle of the 18th century. But India has believed in democracy from the beginning of her days—the democracy that would level up, not down. So it was that in India politics was not separated from religion, and love of country reached forward to the spiritual ideals still enshrined in the country's literature and life.

India built up a synthetic civilisation with a deep reverence for knowledge and action; and India's thinkers and sages and poets and heroes, from the Vedic age down to the age of Tagore, have borne witness to a vision of Divine humanity. They have sung of the unspendable in the heart of toil and struggle, of the "Eternal Who hath no caste." The rebuilding of the nation's life—of India's life—calls for a return to the Aryan vision of Divine humanity. Back of the fruitful processes of cooperation which characterised the trade and craft guilds of India was a deep reverence for man as man. The labourer was not a victim to the slavery of industrialism, the peasant enjoyed self-respect, the King's representatives spoke with deference to the village headman; and if the standard of beauty with regard to a city be its vitality, its sanitation, its health and happiness—not big, crowded, fashionable buildings—the cities of the Aryan age were beautiful. Something of that beauty was reflected in Aryan art in Rajasthani paintings, in Hindu drama, in the courtesy of India's women, in the modesty and mirth of India's women, in India's refined, harmonising culture, in the Indian civilisation free from the grip of industrialism and the chaos of a kultur which cannot see the Kingdom

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To Death or to Life?

IF you would lay bare the true ideals of a man, or of a body of men, or of a government, see on what objects he or they spend their income. In order to apply this test to the government of India let us observe certain figures of their expenditure during the past two years. That is preferable to the figures of the current Budget, for Budget allotments have a habit of increase or decrease by transfer or otherwise, whereas the figures for these years are known and definite.

Millions Sterling.			
Total Expenditure.	Army.	Total to Education.	
1918-9	127	45½	4 ½
1919-20	144	57½	4 1.5 ¾

The Army figures for 1919-20 include the figures for the Afghan "War"—it is now officially called a war—namely, 14½ millions. In a previous article in *India* it was pointed out that for this affair, although the people of India did not call the tune, they most certainly would have to pay the piper. The tune has turned out to be rather costly, has it not? But of course blunders like these in East Africa and Mesopotamia ought not to be repeated. At any cost the prestige of government must be maintained.

Here is a civilized government, despotic rulers of a poverty-stricken people, so poor indeed that nearly half of them seldom eat a full meal, of a people which it proclaims loudly that it is training for self-government, and on what does it spend its money? The grand object of expenditure, the darling of the government, is the soldier. On him a money lavished with both hands, he has but to ask and it is given. One-third of the total expenditure goes to the Army. Though for nearly a century Britain has alleged that her object was to prepare the Indians for self-government, though for democracy education is of the first importance, in these two years for £10 spent on the Army less than £1 has been given to the schools. This apart from the bounden duty of all governments professing civilization to see to it that their peoples are educated. For education is the birthright of every child born. It is his right that he shall be able to see and understand and judge for himself. It is his right that he shall not be cut off from all the glorious heritage of human thought. It is his right that as far as may be he shall have equal opportunities with others and ability as a citizen to fulfil to the utmost of his powers his duties to his country. From all this the Government of India, composed itself of educated men, has shut and barred out the great majority of the helpless masses committed to its care. In so doing it has not merely been negligent, it has committed a crime against India.

Note, too, in a land ravaged by plague and cholera and fever, the miserly sum devoted to

sanitation. All this disease is, in the light of recent discoveries, wholly or largely preventable. Consider the pitiful tragedy of it all, husbands, wives and children dying in millions by needless deaths, countless numbers sick and infirm for long periods of their lives. Does the Government of India, with the light of knowledge in its hands, hesitate to release this mass of suffering, to avert these premature deaths? Does it show the people that it wants largely to mitigate these evils? No, ahead on the hills of Sunda, it contents itself with delving out less than a million for all sanitation in all India. For all the good that sum can do, you might as well take a single spade to fill a hundred-acre field.

No more damning judgment of the Government of India can be found than in these figures. Out of its own mouth is it condemned. It is idle to seek excuse as the Finance Minister did, on the example of Japan since the Armistice. Two blacks do not make a white. For Japan, like India, is governed by the soldier. Fantastic, too, to imagine that the money spent on the Army is needed to guard the N. W. Frontier against tribesmen dentists of the great modern engines of destruction. As for the Soviet government, its actions show that it is certainly not "a great aggressive military power," he chafed cranes seem to be that it has repudiated the debts of Russia, and, worse still, that it has defended itself when attacked. Not against Russia is a large army needed. The army in India appears to be a two-edged weapon, designed less to hold out the foreigner, than to hold down the people who pay for it.

Such a monstrous military expenditure blights the whole life of a nation. . . . How much more terrible for India, poor, uneducated, suffering! What is the remedy?

Unless and until the people of India control the Budget, they may be certain that the schools will be totally inadequate and that their children, their wives and themselves will die of quite preventable diseases. Let them accept no excuses, however plausible, and no professions, however magnanimous. Whether by non-cooperation or by other means it is essential that they hold control of the money. Let them wrest it from the hands of those who in the past have so perverted these revenues wrong from the masses who toil and suffer and starve. Without a piece of extra taxation there is money and to spare for education and sanitation for some years to come. Shall the Indian revenue be used to build up the machinery of death, or shall it be consecrated to the course of life, of life for mind and body? That is the supreme issue, which let Indians decide with no uncertain voice.

—BERNARD HOUGHTON, in *India*, published in London.

They Are Hanging Men and Women!

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into life and had grown through love and beauty and passion—what of him?

He was by this time a nothing, a chemical slime. Only his name left.

But the Empire lived on.

At a desk in Washington a man toiled at writing through the same night. Outside his office the world waited for those words which on the morning would ring out over the world.

"No nation shall be held in subjection against the will of its people."

"With us rests the choice to break through all the hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free."

"The day of conquests and aggressions is gone by; so also is the day of secret covenants."

By the time he had finished it was almost dawn. Wearily he rose and went out. The writing secretaries took the papers. An hour later Fame put her trumpet to her lips and blew her golden phrases around the world. Broken peoples stirred in their chains at the sound. The sun set upon excited groups in every market-place of the great cities. All—all spoke of freedom, of the new great voice from the West. But the words did not penetrate to the ear of Gurdit Singh. The quicklime had seared into bone and heart. That passionate tongue was forever silenced. The pure light was quenched in burning clay.

But the people of Gurdit Singh—the gentle folk who called their country "mother"—they too stirred in the silent places at the words of the great man in the West. They gathered in the market-places and talked, and remembered Gurdit Singh. And always the thunderbolt of military terror scattered them, always the machine guns crackled, and bombs fell upon them out of the sky tearing their limbs to bloody fragments.

And the men who governed the people of India—they smiled cynically when they read the

phrases of the great man in the West. They wrote down these words in official reports:

"Our Ally . . . still continues legal efforts to deport undesirable Hindus."

The months passed. Terror ruled all India. The people whose pride it was that they had never gone beyond their own borders to conquer—whose gifts to the world in philosophy, science, the arts, industry, had made civilisation possible—they were under the iron heel. Unarmed they crouched under the iron flail of the machine guns. They had given brains to Europe. England sent them bullets in return.

Then a strange thing happened. A whisper ran among the people and an ancient strength returned to the race and the vision of a power unreachable by terror. Gurdit Singh and the sham youths of India spoke more terribly from the grave than they had ever spoken from the market-place. . . . India stirred and awoke from her dream of the ages. The rusty chains of caste and creed fell away. The bullets of the machine guns had broken them forever.

India called to the world the ancient call of brotherhood. From around the curved edges of the earth came the answer—from Russia, from Egypt, Turkey, Ireland, Italy—from Korea, China and Siberia came the answer.

Something greater than an Empire had come into being—something that made the Empire seem as trivial as the outworn skin of a snake.

Gurdit Singh, and the thousands who have been imprisoned, tortured, hanged, torn to pieces by bombs, smashed flat by machine guns—they shall not be forgotten. They will be remembered forever, their names shall endure forever.

They suffered that the Empire of the Dead should pass away, that a new order should come into being; that the spirit of man should have room to breathe, to grow strong and glad in a comrades' world.

—BRIAN PADRAIC O'SHASLAIN.

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of Heaven beyond the state nor the Brotherhood of Man beyond the nation.

India fell on the day her people failed to respond to the Indian ideal, a sectarian, monastic ideal got the better of India's manhood; and India's greatness passed away. The old maxim—the Mahabharata was forgotten that "the heavens are content in the ethics of the State"; and we sought our happiness in man, in selfish escape from the Life Universal.

We needed a shock to bang us to our senses. That shock has come to us through our contact with British imperialism. India has awakened, India is getting ready to tread the path of non-cooperation. And the measure of our loyalty to

the Aryan ideal will be the measure of our success in the coming struggle; comrades of hate or strife will only mar the movement of non-cooperation. We have no quarrel with the Englishman, we have no quarrel with any man, our quarrel is with a system, an administration, a government; our quarrel is in the name of humanity. Three silent centuries look upon us, today, eager to know if we shall win our pride or shame in the coming days. Shall we be bondsmen or shall we stand in the ranks of the free, breaking injustice and wrong with the power of the spirit, and building a new order worthy of the reality of the India of the Rishi Age?

—By Professor Vaswani, in *The Mahabharata*.

The Pulse of the Press

Labor Conditions in India

The conditions of the workers of India in the mills of Bombay and Calcutta, in the coal-fields of Bengal and Bihar, in the Khos coal mines and the Burmah tungsten mines, in the agricultural districts throughout India, in the plantations, are described as degrading, degrading and inhuman by Bal Krishna, an Indian writer of note, in an article which appeared in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta for September, 1920. A part reads thus:

"The Indian laborer lives, moves and has his being in an atmosphere which, compared to the English, is at once nauseating, because it is stinking with destitution and degradation, disease and demoralization, starvation and suffering. It is extremely painful, even brutal, to depict the deplorable condition of the Bombay and Calcutta mill workers, of the coal-fields of Bengal and Bihar, of the indentured labor of the Assam tea plantations, Khos coal mines and the Burmah tungsten mines, or of the helpless and almost naked agricultural laborer of the United Provinces.

"The under-fed, under-clothed and under-housed laborer works in the Bombay mills for twelve hours a day from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., get up early at 4 o'clock, prepare their meals and run to the mills for more than two miles in rainy cases to save a penny for their starving children, and in the evening plod their weary way to the dark, dingy, dirty and densely crowded tenements for rest, where no rest can be had. Eight or nine persons live in a single room in the factory quarters. Persons of all ages and both sexes, married as well as unmarried, are huddled in one room, which is to serve the purpose of a parlor, a kitchen, a bedroom, as well as a bathroom, dining and drawing room.

"The condition of the indentured laborer in Assam and Burmah is still worse. Men and women are lured to sign bonds of serving their masters for stated periods at stated wages, on the tea plantations and in certain mines of Burmah and the coal mines of Khos (Baluchistan). However hard and unbearable the work and unsuitable the place, none can break that bond without subjecting himself to all the penalties and punishments attached to its violation. During the stipulated period, however pressing the family circumstances may be, there is no escape from those places but by death, and death too is cruel in prolonging the miseries of these ignorant and innocent beings."

Mr. Bal Krishna deals at length in his article upon the increase in wages and in the cost of living in the past forty years. According to his

figures which are taken from government reports, particularly a report entitled "Prices and Wages Report, 1919," in India, the wages of skilled workers have risen but 47 per cent during the past 40 years. Skilled workers include masons, carpenters and blacksmiths. The wages of unskilled workers have risen during the same period of time 46 per cent. Unskilled workers include agricultural laborers and stablemen. At the same time, the prices of necessities of life increased from 45 to 200 per cent. Instead of the standard of living rising and the Indian workers benefiting by the so-called "civilization" of the British government, Bal Krishna states that each year witnessed a lower standard of living and a lowering of the entire life of the country. Considering the case of dock workers and seamen (seamen) working for the Steam Navigation Company, a government-owned steamship company owned by British capital, Bal Krishna says:

"With almost stationary wages for forty-five years in the case of three groups of workers (carpenters, dock strungs and seamen) of the Steam Navigation Company whose wages have been detailed in the Prices and Wages Report against high soaring prices, and workmen should have sunk deeper and deeper in the morass of penury and misery is the one indelible conclusion of these figures. That such a state of things has been allowed to continue is due to the apathy of the public, and the laissez faire policy of the State, and particularly to the non-existence of any labor organizations to protect the interests of the workmen.

"The wages of 15 groups of operatives and 27 grades of labor studied reveal the striking fact that their wages did not increase at all from 1894 to 1918, and in some cases, even from the year 1880. For instance, the wages of rindars (foremen), seamen and makers remained constant for the period of 38 years from 1880 to 1918. The earnings of carpenters, masons, workmen and engine-drivers did not rise since 1904, nor did the incomes of skilled carpenters, carriers and saddlers vary since 1897-98. Yet at the same time, official records show that the wages paid in a leather factory, wherein prodigious profits have been and are being appropriated by the proprietors. These things furnish sufficient proof of the degradation of Indian laborers.

"The actual money wages of workers in the jute mills in 1913, or in fact in 1918, since after 1913 there was no increase in the five years period, afford a deplorable picture of some of the laboring population in Bengal. The same state of affairs obtains in the rice mills in Rangoon and in the coal fields in Bengal and Bihar. In the coal fields, more coal is dug today by one man than was possible five years ago, even. For in-

stance, in 1913, a minor day, 622 tons per day, in 1918 he day, 813 tons per day. Yet his wages remained stationary.

"The actual wages earned by the Act and Non-Act laborers in the tea gardens in Assam during the years 1913 to the present time are indescribable. An 'Act laborer' is one who has served his indenture and has become a free man after many years, a 'non-act laborer' is an indentured laborer, a slave in all the meaning of the term. During the years 1913 to the present time, the wages of non-act laborers increased a little over 3 per cent, those of the Act laborers 36.5 per cent. Yet prices increased by 190 to 200 per cent. We can assume a family of six consuming and four earning members, consisting of husband and wife, two earning children above twelve, and two consuming but semi-earning children below twelve years. The total monthly income of such a family of four earning members working in the tea gardens of Assam, in 1917-18 was 21½ rupees, or \$7.00 for Act, or free laborers, and 17 rupees, or \$5.55 for non-act or slave laborers.

"All the income of the non-act laborers is swallowed up by the most primitive necessities. There is no money for the supply of milk, meat, fish, eggs and clothing, lighting, furniture, crockery, soap, tobacco, medicine, amusements, charity, loans, funeral services, marriage ceremony and other incidental and sundry expenses. If, however, some money is to be spent on these necessary items, the rice, dal and oil allowances must be cut short, so that the family must remain under-fed all through, and yet work for twelve hours a day.

"These are some of the facts and figures of the abject slavery of the wage slaves of India. They read stagnation, depression, pauperization and starvation hidebly written in letters bold and black on the face of those people who, in theory, are made in the image of God but, in fact, are so many deformed members of humanity. The workers in India, being uneducated, unorganized and steeped in poverty and dense ignorance of the liberating forces—economic and political—of the world, need the active and constant sympathy and assistance of the workers of other countries."

Britannism or Bolshevism?

Mr. Bernard Houghton, an English writer, writing in India, London, compares the British rule in India with the menace of Bolshevism thus:

"Why should Indians cooperate with British officials against Bolshevik ideas? Has official rule been so benign and sympathetic that they will unite to continue it? Has the bureaucracy made India happy and contented? Has it so acted that Indians will rally to its side now as they rallied (rather forced to rally) at the beginning

of the war? Really these officials are too simple. They browbeat and bludgeon, they oppress and repress. Then when danger (to them) threatens, they turn to their victims and ask them to co-operate to ward off the peril. Indians will naturally ask what are these ideas, the mere mention of which has thrown the officials into panic. They may not be concerned with the Bolshevik theory of society, but they can point to not a few facts which show that it is not so black as it is painted.

"Thus the Bolsheviks have stood for open diplomacy, the Allies for secret diplomacy. The Bolsheviks have granted full self-government to the seven states that broke away from Russia; England has refused it to Ireland, to India, to Mesopotamia, and tried to refuse it to Egypt. The Bolsheviks have sought peace; the Allies have actively shunned war. The Bolsheviks have kept faith; the Allies have broken faith with Germany, with Ireland, with Mesopotamia, and Syria, and have sought to break faith with Egypt. Finally, Bolshevism has made a supreme effort to educate the children, while the British government in India has persistently and gravely neglected its duty to do so. With these facts before their eyes Indians want to know a little more about Bolshevism before they join with the Simla government in condemning it. Many things which that government disavours are to them the very sign of life. May it not be that Bolshevism, closely seen, is not so great an evil as Dyerism?"

"According to Mr. H. N. Bradford, the oratorism which the recent conference at Baku undoubtedly evoked was due not so much to communist ideas as to hatred of Western Imperialism. That is doubtless correct. It is the domination and exploitation of countries like India, Persia, and Mesopotamia in the interests of western capitalists that is the well-spring of Asian movement. It is the ideas common to Bolsheviks and all lovers of freedom and justice—the right of the individual to a fair opportunity to show what is in him and to pursue happiness, the right of nations to govern themselves, the hatred of militarism and that secret diplomacy which treats the people as cattle to be bought or sold—it is these ideas which now ferment in Asia and gather strength with each month that passes. In vain would the Simla (British) government seek to stay them by spending \$45,000 a year more on secret service. Has not Mr. Winston Churchill spent two hundred millions of British money in the effort to crush Bolshevism? Has he not thereby only strengthened and intensified it? Since the Armistice, had the Simla government been the agent of Moscow, it could not have more effectively prepared the soil of India for Bolshevik ideas. Popular rule, and popular rule alone, can meet Bolshevism on the spot. And there is only one way to popular rule, and that lies in a radical change in the government of India."

The Root Causes of the Present Condition of India.

The British came to this country as a commercial adventurer and has stayed here as a commercial exploiter. This came in the root cause and affects the very life of our people. We have been decaying since a very long time past as a race, but today we are threatened with not mere decadence only, but almost with positive re-creation. While in the other parts of the civilized world, birth-rate is steadily increasing in relation to death-rate, in various parts of India our death-rate is increasing and birth-rate simultaneously dwindling down year after year. In the course of a few centuries, unless we are able to find means to reverse these figures as we see in the other countries of the world, we shall be overtaken by the fate of the American Indians or the Australian bushmen. The people of India have always been able to adapt themselves from epoch to epoch to its changing physical, economic, social or political environment. But the struggle to which we are called today is not really of this character. It is practically a physical conflict between the race which holds political domination over us and ourselves. This conflict is not a mere political conflict, but it is a conflict that covers every department of our life, economic, social as well as political. Economically ever since the British came to this country there has been an almost open war carried on by the representatives of British commercial interests against the economic interests of the people of this country. When the British came to India, we were both an agricultural and a manufacturing nation. But they deliberately killed our manufacturers, because they found it impossible to compete on fair terms with these. The story of this murderous economic war has been stated in a nutshell by Horace Hayman Wilson in his Note to Mill's History of India; and though many of you are familiar with it, it may be profitably quoted once more to refresh our memory.

"It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she has become dependent. It was stated in evidence in 1813, that the cotton and silk goods of India, up to the period, could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 to 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the malls of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and they could scarcely have again been set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitory duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her, she was at

the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

For the last hundred and fifty years our economic resources have been unintermittedly and increasingly exploited by foreign, and particularly British traders, protected by the British government in India. I am aware that this exploitation is called by another name by our English friends. They call it development. Nor can it be denied that British capital and commercial enterprise have developed our resources very considerably. And superficial observers, generalising from similar economic developments in the free countries of Europe and America, have rushed to the conclusion that these economic developments have necessarily added to the wealth of India also. But they have overlooked the fact that the profits of these new developments have not come to the people, but have gone out of the country to the pockets of foreign exploiters. All that we have earned, or practically all, from these so-called developments of our economic resources are the wages of our labour. And these wages also have gone back to a very large extent to these foreign exploiters themselves in the shape of the price of imported luxuries that have been thrust upon us practically leaving little or no margin of these increased wages to the wage-earner to contribute to the national wealth and the economic staying power of his people. Increased wages in Great Britain or Germany or America mean greater comfort and higher standards of living for the masses contributing to their health, happiness and longevity. The wages which a labourer earns in the free countries of Europe or America are distributed among his own people and remain in the country increasing the sum total of national capital. But it is different in India. Those who cite the increased use of various articles of luxury such as shirts and coats, shoes and umbrellas by the present generation of the Indian peasantry, luxuries that were unknown to their forefathers, as evidence of our economic advancement do not probe these things deeply and enquire how much of the things that they use now are manufactured in the country and how much come from abroad. And the moment we examine these matters carefully we discover the simple and obvious solution of the engine of the increasing poverty of a country, the natural resources of which have been enormously developed during the last hundred and fifty years of British rule. This has only helped to increase our economic dependence and has made the way clear for the perpetuation of our economic seclusion. If we look back into history it would become apparent how this economic seclusion has been intentionally secured. In the days when the Britisher came to this country as a commercial adventurer it may be said that he had no such idea, but as time went on he seized every opportunity that offered itself for the pur-

poss. The last opportunity that offered itself was the state of the administration of the country, specially the state of administration of Bengal under the Mahomedan power tottering as it then was on account of the onslaughts of the Mahomedans which led to the armed interference of the Britisher with the then Government of Bengal. He fought and did so with the assistance partly of the Bengalee soldiers in the Battle of Plassey and won it. How did he utilize his victory? I quote from Dr. William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul. In his "Outspoken Essays," published in 1919, on page 91, he says thus:—

"It was not till the accession of George III that the increase in our numbers became rapid. No one until then would have thought of singling out the Englishmen as the embodiment of the good apprentice. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, found our countrymen 'as lay as Spaniards', most foreigners were struck by our fondness for solid food and strong drink. The industrial revolution came upon us suddenly; it changed the whole face of the country and the apparent character of the people. In the far future our descendants may look back upon the period in which we are living as a strange episode which disturbed the natural habits of our race.

"The first impulse was given by the plunder of Bengal, which, after the victories of Clive, flowed into the country in a broad stream for about thirty years. This ill-gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating English industries as the 'live milliard' extorted from France, did for Germany after 1870."

The money the Britisher invested in trade and commerce in the country and made profits and grew richer. This process went on unchecked and the directors of the East India Company declared themselves that it was necessary for the maintenance of the commerce established in the East Indies that people of the country should be put in subjection and the new political power already secured was directed towards that object. In course of time an Empire was established in India but the main purpose for which the political supremacy maintained by military domination has been directed, is commercial supremacy. It is often repeated that the Britisher has developed India and has made her what she is now. But for whose benefit? My answer is for his own benefit and not ours. And as regards his monthly let me quote again from the same author, page 94:—

"A nation may be so much weakened in physique by underfeeding as to be impatient from a military point of view in spite of great numbers, as is the case in India and China. Deficient nourishment also diminishes the day's work.

"If European and American capital goes to China and provides proper food for the workmen, we may have an early opportunity of discovering whether the supporters of the League of Nations have any real conscientious objection to violence and bloodshed. We may surmise that the European man, the fiercest of all beasts of prey, is not

likely to abandon the weapons which have made him the lion and the bully of the planet. He has no other superiority to the races which he arrogantly despises. Under a regime of peace the Asiatic would probably be his master."

From a speech by Mr. Byomkesh Chakrabarty before the Special Session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta, September 8, 1920.

Poor Apology for Kind of Rule Britain Gives India

It is refreshing to see that the Americans are quite alive to the situation in India. In order to bely the issues of India, the British government maintains an army of propagandists throughout the world, particularly in America. The business of these propagandists is to tell the American people that had there not been the British imperialism, the world would have been torn to pieces. That the American people know how to discern the truth will be evident from the following editorial in the *San Francisco Examiner*, November 26, 1920:

Mr. Rustom Rustomjee, a newspaper man from India, is lecturing in this country on the political situation in British India.

There are ominous intimations of disorders here and there in India at present, and this lecturer seems to be one of the army of British propagandists, so numerous during the world war, sent to tell us that we should support all British policies and so cement Anglo-American friendship.

We could be good friends with England in many ways if she did not take so much of our time to answer her propagandists.

Mr. Rustomjee says in his lecture: First, that it is not true that the condition of India is worse today than it was when England took control of her.

England took control of India about two hundred years ago. It seems to us that to say that the three hundred millions of Indians are no worse off today than they were two hundred years ago is a very poor defense of British colonial policy!

Consider the progress of the world in two hundred years and consider what must have been British repression in India to have prevented the Indians from being any better off today than they were two hundred years ago.

Second, this defender of England in India says that the British do not supply the Indians with opium and to prove it he says: "The excise laws are now very strict and they are rigidly enforced. The opium traffic between China and India had practically ceased to exist."

This statement refers to the old policy of forcing opium upon the people of India, first for profit, as the opium trade is exceedingly profitable, and second to make the people contented and helpless in their wretchedness.

The traffic in opium between India and China is now rigidly prohibited.

But who is doing the prohibiting, and why? The Chinese are doing the prohibiting and the traffic is not from China to India, but from India to China.

The British government makes the opium and subsidises the farmers who raise the poppy from which the opium is produced. Every ten or fifteen years there is a famine in India because enough grain is not planted to supply the population and millions upon millions die of starvation.

But the English government does not and the farmer in India to plant more grain in order to avoid these famines as it aids the poppy grower to produce opium.

Then when the poppy grower produces his opium he is obliged to sell it to the English government, which manufactures it and sells it.

Does Mr. Rastoyan think that Americans do not know how the Chinese protested against the introduction of opium from India into China and how the English government declared war on China and slaughtered the Chinese in order to keep the Chinese market for her opium?

England did to China exactly what she did to the American colonies before the revolution.

One of the indictments which Thomas Jefferson drew up against Great Britain in her treatment of America was the charge that when the Southern colonies wanted to stop the slave trade, the British government would not permit them to do it.

Read Jefferson's letter to the Virginia Assembly in 1774 when he denounced this traffic of human beings in order to give profit to certain British merchants.

British Terror in the Near East

The barbarous treatment of the Turkish population of Constantinople, at the hands of British officers heading the army of occupation and in practical control of the Turkish government, is told in a recent article published in the *Muslim Outlook* of October 21, published in London.

Of the several thousand Turkish prisoners of war taken by the British, and very recently released, over half are found to have been blinded, the *Muslim Outlook* states. Eighty per cent of the total number of prisoners, it states, are incapacitated for life because of the terrible treatment which they have received at British hands.

In Constantinople itself, the British officers are said to have transgressed every bound of decency or civilisation. The *Muslim Outlook* says, in part:

"It frequently happens that a few Allied officers in Constantinople go to the best-looking and well-furnished Turkish homes, and order the residents to clear out within a day or two. Then if they find accommodations insufficient, they order the people of the house to procure bedding

and table materials for other brother officers who also wish to reside there. Water, gas, and other charges must be paid by the proprietors.

"Families who are thus tossed out of their dwellings must often live in the courtyards of great mosques, and an appalling number of Muslim houses have been burnt down lately by fires which have been caused by England's glorious friends the Greeks. The idea is to compel the Turkish majority to quit Constantinople, bag and baggage, and to go somewhere to perish in misery. To the complaint of one very old and sick Turkish lady, who objected to being tossed out of her home, the English officer serving the order replied: 'We are the victors.'

"Several thousand of the Turkish prisoners of war in the English hands have now returned to their country. Eighty per cent of these men returned are so sick because of their captivity that they are incapable of working for the rest of their lives. More than half of them have been totally or partially blinded, not through fighting, but because of conditions in the camps of Africa and Asia. The chief grievances of these men is that in spite of their often made remonstrances, doctors of Armenian nationality were placed in charge of them by English officers. The blinded men naturally suspect the existence of inhuman treachery in the application of the medicines prescribed by such doctors, who were their enemies.

"Among the vast variety of troops brought to Constantinople by the Entente Powers, to enlighten perhaps their crushing sway over countless races of humanity, Indian soldiers seem to be the only sympathetic fellows. Apparently they are beginning to realise the gravity of the situation of the principal defenders of the Orient against the West European aggression. Then, themselves, belonging, of course, to the aggrieved Orient. Signs of fraternisation have more than once been suggested between Indian soldiers and individual Turks, and it was noticed that Indian detachments quartered here and there had been subjected to frequent murders. Some months ago it was rumoured that an English transport was sunk, presumably by a stray mine, while passing through the Dardanelles, with Indian troops alone on board."

The *Muslim Outlook* further gives a report of the disappearance of prominent Turkish men, who are taken from their beds in the middle of the night by Englishmen. They are never heard from afterward, but merely disappear from the face of the earth, leaving behind their tortured family.

The English spies are everywhere, the report states, and "traitor hunting" has become the great sport in the Orient. Any Turk suspected of pro-Turkish sentiments, or pro-Russian or pro-progressive tendencies, is a "traitor," and money is available at any time to run him to his death. Three Englishmen of high position are particularly active among the Turks, the Arabs and Egyptians, and appear to be in charge of much of the spy work.

The New British Empire

IN *The Century* for October, 1920, Mr. Judson C. Welliver contributes an illuminating and interesting article on *The New British Empire*. "Where do England and the empire stand in the world? What lies ahead of them?" asks he.

"It seems fair to say," he continues, "that of all countries, Great Britain today is most intently watching the distant lights and least distracting herself with the mud and mire."

"England secure in its isolation, its fleets ruling the seas, would alone be safe. Its colonies had been greatly extended, the world had become its market, its industrial capacity was immeasurably increased."

"Today she makes France her deputy to police Europe, while she, avoiding the uncomfortable frictions, looms in the background as the final arbiter, the just judge, the real power. France dare not trust Germany; so she is compelled to hate Germany, and to have Germany always hate her. England dares to be disinterested friend of Germany, the counselor of Italy, the Lady Bountiful to ruined Austria, mentor to Spain, patron of Greece, ancient ally of Portugal, guarantor of Belgium, candid friend of the Northern neutrals, and through the clever co-operation of her labor leaders and her shifty merchants, at once the most sympathetic observer of Russia's trials and the least unscrupulous provider of Russia's necessities. She is in a position to grovel sincerely at Greece's disappointment in Thrace, and to make away with the big lot of the Ottoman dominions. She wishes quite genuinely that Mr. Wilson could have saved Shantung to China, and meanwhile makes off for herself a sphere of domination in the Yangtze basin worth half a dozen Shantungs. She can quite appreciate the harrowed feelings of Chinese who dislike Japan's control of northern China railroads, and meanwhile she plans to build fifty thousand miles of British-owned railroads in middle and southern China. She pledges to give Egypt back to the Egyptians, and then finds that a lucky clause of the peace treaty has cutously enough thrust Egypt into the imperial British pocket! She makes a treaty of commerce, army, and alliance with Persia, and the cynical world reads it as substantially the annexation of Persia to the empire! She becomes protector of the Jews in Palestine and of the Arabs in Hedjaz, incidentally strengthening her grip over Suez."

"These things Great Britain accomplishes in virtue of her fortunate endowment of both nearness and remoteness. She pervades all the seas and continents, and yet is nobody's too intimate neighbor."

"America shanks from responsibility in America; nobody wants it, and so London offers a competent administration to head the commission to rule it. Always ready to assume shadowy titles and heavy mortgages, she succeeded long ago to the French and Dutch and Spanish in America, the Dutch and French in the East. Now she takes over the estates of Germany in Africa and the Pacific, shoulders Persia, becomes chief engineer of the Bagdad Railroad,

protector of the Arabs, mistress of Mesopotamia, lord of the Caucasus, and sponsor for Palestine."

"Today the British empire may, with all conservatism, be estimated at eight times the area and five times the population of the Roman dominions. It has maintained a military and naval personnel a dozen times that which Gibbon credits to Rome."

"There has never been under single sway so great a part of the earth as is now British. Before the World War the empire was credited with 13,153,712 square miles, distributed thus:

	Square Miles.
In Europe	121,312
In Asia	2,187,550
In Africa	3,618,241
In North America	3,895,020
In Central America	8,600
In the West Indies	11,300
In South America	97,800
In Australasia	3,214,685
	13,153,712

"To the foregoing now may be added the areas acquired in the late war and later peace. The Library of Congress states them thus:

	Area Sq. Miles	Population
German colonies and dependencies in Africa, the Pacific, and the South Seas	1,027,620	11,697,092
Palestine, including Sanjak of Jerusalem and Villages of Lebanon	3,790	341,600
Mesopotamia	143,350	2,000,000
Arabia (Hedjaz and Yemen)	103,380	1,060,000
Persia	628,000	9,500,000
Egypt	350,000	12,565,000
	2,264,040	37,567,692

"Thus is made up an empire of 15,417,752 square miles and about 500,000,000 souls. In three continents, North America, Africa, and Australia, the empire is the largest landed proprietor, in the fourth, Asia, her 3,073,970 square miles represent nearly twice the extent of imperial Rome!"

"Of her 300,000,000 souls, about 65,000,000 are self-governing citizens; the rest, subjects."

"It is enough to point out that the empire includes about a third of the world's people, and somewhat more than a quarter of its land."

"We quarantine," concludes Mr. Welliver, "against Bolshevism as a plague, England trades with it and finds the profits highly satisfactory." She hopes to be "happy though married!"

The facts are clear, though not complete. For the sake of the peace and harmony in the world, it should have been told what the self-contented Britons have done with 433,000,000 souls of the Human family.

Notes and News

Indian Troops Used for British Militarism

That nearly 125,000 Indian troops are used to suppress Persia, Mesopotamia, Turkey and other Near Eastern countries has been revealed by Winston Churchill, Secretary of War of Great Britain, in the British Parliament as an answer to Allen Parkinson, M. P. The following are the present strengths of British and Indian troops respectively, and the approximate monthly cost in the areas named:

	British	Indian	Cost
Mesopotamia and North			
West Persia	17,000	85,500	\$12,500,000
Constantinople	11,000	8,000	\$ 2,475,000
Egypt	12,000	14,000	\$ 3,125,000
Palestine	6,500	18,000	\$ 3,050,000

What a sad tragedy that the Indian people are forcibly taken to extend the boundaries of British imperial freedom to various parts of the world!

British Bureaucracy Got Frightened

In view of the inauguration of the non-cooperation movement in India, the British government in a fervent excitement prays to the people not to overthrow British rule in India. In a statement issued from Simla, November 6, 1920, the British government says that "it is to enlightened public opinion that they must chiefly trust for the mitigation of the danger that now envelops (British rule in) India." The statement further says that "the movement (of non-cooperation) is unconstitutional in that its object is the paralysing and subversive of the existing administration."

Why all such shuddering of crossbills then? The people of India are determined to manage their own affairs. They are not preparing to invade England. It is the opportune moment that the British government should pack up bags and baggage and leave the Indian people alone to establish their own sovereignty in their own country.

The British Destroying Ship-ping Industry of India

At one time India boasted of having excellent shipping industry. Her boats used to sail in all parts of the world—Rome, Canada, Persia, Java and various other islands of the Indian Ocean. These days are gone and the shipping industry is utterly ruined. The little effort which the Indian people desire to employ to revive the lost industry is thwarted by the British govern-

ment. How the indigenous industry is destroyed has been revealed by Mr. B. F. Bharucha, an Indian publicist. He says:

"Few are aware how lighters, barges, small country craft, steam launches and sailing ships were requisitioned by British government. Even the very few steamers owned by Indians were commandeered by government, taken into the war zone, and many were sunk by enemies, and the compensation paid by government, both for hire and for loss, had been most inadequate. I know of a specific case in which the owners had only one steamer, it was fully chartered for one voyage. They prayed the government to allow the ship to complete her charter, but to no avail. The ship was sunk near Gibraltar, and owners who had paid Rs 1,425,000 for the ship, were given Rs 875,000 by government! And though three years have elapsed, the matter is unsettled!"

"Railway lines were stopped! Engines, wagons and engines have been exported! We Indians are put to endless hardships for want of carriages, and that too in times of peace!"

It is important to note that one of the main causes of the high prices of foodstuffs, building materials, etc., is the lack of transport. And with railways stopped and steamships and sailing crafts requisitioned and never replaced by government, the dearth of transport is naturally felt.

Mining Engineering in Ancient India

Mr. A. Meraya Smith, M. I. M. E. (London), has contributed a series of articles in *Commerce*, in which he throws very useful and interesting information about the development of Mining Engineering in India in the third century B. C. He says in part thus:

"Chinese travellers in India mention that in Asoka's (the great Buddhist Emperor of India) time (B. C. 250) there was a well established Mining Department with mining engineers, mine inspectors, labourers, etc. The Portuguese Jesuit fathers (16th century A. D.) writing of Chinese travel in very early times, mention the existence of Chinese writings in the library at Hankow which gave an account of Asoka's Mining Department and of a book of instructions to his officers engaged in this work. Recent research has brought to light a copy of this work and the epigraphists of the Mysore government are at present engaged in making a translation of it. Mention is made of the respect of Pan in China as a place of call for Chinese merchants who exchanged their silver for gold, mined in the neighbouring districts. The rate of exchange was twelve of silver to one of gold."

A Plausible Program

The attitude of the people to continue constructive activities has well been expressed in the Surma Valley Conference recently held in Sylhet, India. The conference urges the people to adopt the following program:

1. To refuse to take service under English planters and merchants and gradual withdrawal of those already under service.
2. Non-acceptance of cases by lawyers from such planters and merchants.
3. Refusal on the part of the people to grant fresh leases or to renew old ones.
4. To abstain from attending any function to which such non-official Englishmen are invited.
5. To oppose imperial preferences and encourage trade in Indian raw materials with friendly countries outside the British empire.
6. To boycott all articles of luxury imported from the United Kingdom and restrict use of other foreign goods within such limits as insufficiency of indigenous production imperatively necessitates.
7. To withdraw all Indian money so far as possible from British banks in India and patronize for the purposes of foreign trade non-British banks.
8. To start trade unions with a view to organization and education of Indian laboring classes of their rights and liberties.
9. To gradually withdraw Indian labor from all industrial concerns supported by British management.
10. To demand immediate repeal of all legislation dealing with labor in India which militates against elementary freedom of man in regard to disposal of his labor.
11. To organize home industries in every village with a view to meet essential necessities of life.

In 1866, when the English Indigo Planters adopted the methods of persecution and oppression, the peasants revolted. The result was that the indigo cultivation was practically wiped out in India. It is our sincere belief that if the program as it has been outlined in accordance with the principles of the non-cooperation movement is carried out with courage and conviction like the peasants of 1866, the British commerce, industry and plantation will receive a death-blow.

Political Sufferers' Conference

During the time of special session of Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in the first week of September, 1920, there was a very interesting gathering of a group of people who had suffered incarceration for the independence of their Motherland in the hands of the British. Mr. Lajpat Rai was in the chair. Several thousand

people who served sentences of imprisonment in the British jails have formed a permanent society. The purposes of the organization have well been expounded by Mr. Pohn Behary Das, a pioneer revolutionist. He said:

"We shall belong to no party but to the nation—whatever is for the nation shall command our services, whether he carries a party label or not. The ideal of Indian brotherhood for which we stand is not to be limited in its application to the educated classes alone, it must embrace all the Brahman and the non-Brahman, the high-caste and so-called untouchables." In fact we have determined on erasing the word 'untouchable' from the category of our thought and the page of our country's history."

These are noble words. We enthusiastically welcome such an organization which shall efface caste, creed and provincialism. A new India will be built up by all those who know how to bear sufferings for an ideal and those who will give their service to the cause of the Motherland.

India's Independence Movement Supported by Illinois Labor

Declaring its moral support to the independence movement of India, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, at its annual convention held at Galesburg, Illinois, October 18-23, 1920, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas the American labor movement has repeatedly supported the principles of nationality and democracy for all people, and

"Whereas the people of India are rising under the most undemocratic tyrannical alien rule, and struggling for achieving national independence for three hundred and fifteen millions of people;

"Be it resolved, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in its annual convention, held in Galesburg, Illinois, October 18 to 23, extends its moral support to the cause of the independence of India.

"Be it further resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Senate, House of Representatives and the State Department of the United States, and to all the national labor bodies of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Japan and other countries."

Mr. Taraknath Das, Executive Secretary of the Friends of Freedom for India, presented the resolution with a speech in which he described the iniquity of the alien British rule in India.

The increasing interest of the labor for the absolute independence of India is inspiring to the millions who are struggling for freedom. The poorer the exploited masses realize the identity of interests, the nearer will be the dawn of a new era of emancipation of the people all over the world. Our cordial thanks are extended to the Illinois Federation of Labor.

India's Sympathy With the Irish Martyrs

Voicing the sentiments of the people of India, the Hindustan Cedar Party sent the following telegram to President Eamon De Valera of the Republic of Ireland on the death of Martyr Mayor MacSwiney of Cork, Ireland:

"The Hindustan Cedar Party mourns with you and other Irish patriots in the death of Martyr Mayor MacSwiney. Please convey our sincere condolences to Mrs. MacSwiney and the bereaved family.

"We assure you our complete cooperation in carrying out the principles and ideals in defence of which MacSwiney's blood has slowly been sapped by the British government.

"The deliberate and cold-blooded murder will be answered by the millions in a manner that shall forever stop the blood-thirstiness of the British and raise the flag of Freedom over all the countries devastated and desolated by the most imperialistic government of the world.

"(Signed) BISHAN SINGH,
Secretary."

"Only when we prefer death to bondage can our countries be free," wired Dr. Eamon De Valera, President of the Irish Republic, in a telegram to the Friends of Freedom for India, New York City, in reply to a telegram of renewed faith from the latter organisation. President De Valera's telegram reads:

"Washington, D. C.—Your telegram renewing pledges of faith and everlasting friendship for the Irish Republic will be appreciated by the people of Ireland. May MacSwiney's spirit inspire the people of India as it inspires us, teaching us that only when we prefer death to bondage can our countries be free.

"EAMON DE VALERA."

On the day that Mayor MacSwiney's death was announced in America, the Friends of Freedom for India had sent a telegram to President De Valera, stating:

"Following the death of Lord Mayor MacSwiney, accept our renewed pledges of faith and everlasting friendship for the Irish Republic, and convey our deep appreciation to the Irish people. The superhuman height to which MacSwiney arose will inspire the people of India to renewed determination to end for ever the British empire."

When the Bolshevik Meets the British

In order to counteract Bolshevism in India, the British government has established a bureau in Sealdah, India. Its maintenance will cost \$45,000, which will be exacted from the people of India. One Edmund Candler, an Englishman, is the head of the bureau. A great feature of this official publicity campaign is the use of the Kineema.

We shall watchfully await to see the result of meeting of the East and the West.

The British Barbarities in Egypt

The grave allegations against the conduct of a section of the British army whilst engaged in repressing the revolt have been made by the Egyptian Nationalists. They produce sixteen affidavits which allege the following, among other occurrences.

Cairo —Hundreds killed, wounded and imprisoned by British soldiers, who sweep the streets with machine guns during a peaceful demonstration of protest against the deportation of the Egyptian leaders. A ten year old girl was assaulted by several soldiers until she died.

Chobak —British soldiers pillaged town, killed 21, wounded 12, outraged women, buried 3 Egyptians to their waste and cut them to pieces, and burned 144 of the 200 houses.

El Chabarat —Detachment of British soldiers pillaged village, burned it, and left 4000 persons without shelter.

Anzia and Bedrosia —Soldiers searched both villages for arms and burned a number of houses.

Chobro-el-Charich and Kafir-el-Hagga —Alleging that a shot had been fired at an English patrol, soldiers condemned all male inhabitants to be flogged on the stomach and back. (Photographs were produced.)

Upper Egypt —British general decreed that every Egyptian, including high dignitaries, must salute the British officers in the streets. Those who did not obey the order were dragged before courts martial.

The recent massacre at Corke Park in Ireland and the Punjab massacre a year ago in India, sufficiently corroborate these allegations, and prove beyond any question or doubt that the British character has not changed.

Penalty on the Punjab

The blood of the Punjab was spilled by the British machine guns and bombs in April, 1919. Since then the people of the Punjab, India, are forced to pay the penalty of being butchered by the British. Those who were saved are now demanded to give compensation to those English officials who took the trouble of murdering their relatives. Here are the sums foolishly taken from the people by the British government:

Amount	Rs. 1,900,000
Cantonments Towns	250,000
Kanar Town	125,000
Wazirabad	66,000
Sheikhpura sub-division	27,000
Remaining towns	3,000

and under

A Pacifist's Attitude

The Daily Express of London is responsible for the following news.

"Mr. Gandhi, in a religious speech at Lucknow (India), on October 13, said it was intended to organize Hindustan into a great hukkar (armed band) and that men should practise discipline. He wanted justice for the Punjab and freedom for the country. The government, he declared, was ruling India by deceit.

"He pleaded for non-cooperation and Hindu and Muhamadian unity, and said that those who joined the Indian Army committed sin, and Indians going to Mesopotamia to cut the throats of men there committed the sin of converting themselves into slaves.

"If they followed the teachings of non-cooperation they would get Swami (Independence) in one year. Mr. Gandhi added that before they used revolvers they would wear European women and children. Mohammed Ali also made a highly inflammatory speech."

Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Mohamamed Ali are the two leading men who command universal respect from all classes of people. Mr. Gandhi is, by nature, a staunch pacifist. He, too, is charged.

Home Rule League Changed to Swarajya Sabha

The All-India Home Rule League which was working to secure self-government within the British empire has been changed to Swarajya Sabha. The Swarajya Sabha means the League to attain Independence of India. The word Swarajya literally means self-rule which recognizes no other sovereignty. The objects of the Swarajya Sabha are:

1. To secure complete Swami for India according to the wishes of the Indian people.
2. To carry on a continuous propaganda with a view to organising the people for peaceful and effective action to achieve such Swami, and to take such action whenever necessary.

Late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the soul of this movement. We are sure, he would have been happy to see such a healthy change brought about under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, a man of easily character. We congratulate the organisers of the Swarajya Sabha. Their action will stimulate a desire in all the Indians to sweep away the dualism about rights and privileges, peace and security within the British empire. India is awakened. Let not the Indians abroad lag behind their compatriots in India.

The Sikh League Advocates Boycotting the British

In its second annual session held in Lahore the Sikh Political League of the Punjab has upheld the decision of the Indian National Congress. There were 2000 delegates and 5000 visitors, mostly ex-soldiers and peasants, present in the conference. The non-cooperation movement has been strongly supported and the Congress program accepted. Immediate Swami (Independence) has been declared to be the aim of the people. Many of the soldiers have returned their war medals and other honors.

The significance of the Sikh League decision lies in the fact that there is not a single community or section of the country which has not expressed its determination to paralyze the process of governmental machinery. If the people can, forgetting their communal differences, stick together, Mahatma Gandhi's prophecy to win Independence of India within a year is not chimerical.

The Revolt of Assam Coolie

That the underpaid labor in the Assam Tea Plantation is determined to break the shackles of bondage has been disclosed in an official communique issued from the India Office. It says:

"The following information has been received by the Secretary of State for India from the British government in India in regard to the riots which occurred towards the end of September in the tea gardens in the Lakhimpur District of Assam (a province of India).

"Coolies of eight gardens within a six-mile radius of Dum Duma were on strike for higher wages. They looted the local market and Mus-wan shops, assaulted an assistant manager and garden officers, and damaged officers' bungalows. The superintendent of police, Fuzze, went to the spot with the police, but he and the constables were assaulted. A few platoons of the Assam Rifles were dispatched and order was restored. No further disturbance has occurred. Fuzze sustained fracture of right arm, injury to right knee, and two head wounds, besides contusions. Seng, assistant manager of Dhoodam Tea Garden, received severe head wounds and contusions. Two constables were injured."

No casualty has been given on the side of the Indian labor. However, we are gratified to see that the movement to recognize the rights of labor is directed into proper channel. May we not hope that these tea plantations which have been watered by Indian blood shall belong to all those who toil and till there?

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The Friends of Freedom For India

with a view To maintain the right of asylum for political refugees from India.
To present the case for the independence of India.

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